

: Programme

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International sef: Expert Workshop **International Solidarity:** **Yesterday's ideal or emerging key norm?**

House of the EKD, Berlin

1-2 September 2016

Conference language

English

Cooperating partner

Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research (KHK/GCR21), Duisburg



Centre for

**Global
Cooperation
Research**

BACKGROUND

Since the 1960s, the promise of “international solidarity” has been the subject of intensive debates in the international arena particularly when it came to its substantiation. While not mentioned explicitly, solidarity among nations and peoples was, in fact, already inherent in the UN Charter. According to Article 1, the purposes of the UN are, among others, “to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace”; “to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights” and “to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character”. In subsequent articles, member states reiterate their promise to give the UN any assistance or “to take joint and separate action” to achieve the objectives of the Charter. And indeed, understood not as an act of goodwill but as working together towards a shared goal, solidarity can be seen as the underlying principle of just and equal cooperation.

In that sense, the idea of solidarity was implicit in the UN framework from the very first. It was not until the 1960s, however, following decolonisation, that a stronger emphasis on the duty to cooperate gave way to the claim of a principle of international solidarity. This came about in combination with attempts to extend collective rights – advocated in particular by the Non-Aligned Movement and the G77 – and was strongly propagandised as the guiding principle of South-South relations. Debates on the need for, and substance of, solidarity continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s, associated with proposals for a new international economic order or the right to development. But although inherent in many UN declarations and charters, it took until the late 1990s for the term “solidarity” to finally find its way into universally agreed documents. The UN Millennium Declaration explicitly referred to solidarity as one of six fundamental values in international relations, as follows: “Global challenges must be managed in a way that distributes the costs and burdens fairly in accordance with basic principles of equity and social justice. Those who suffer or who benefit least deserve help from those who benefit most.”

Ironically, the Millennium Declaration was adopted at the end of a decade of cooperative multilateralism that had followed the Cold War. Although solidarity continued to be referred to in international documents, e.g. the 2005 World Summit outcome document, it seemed to lose its relevance as a guiding principle of international politics. Since the turn of the century, and in particular in the follow-up to 9/11, the universality of values promoted in normative frameworks adopted earlier on has been increasingly questioned and challenged. The evolving multipolarity has been accompanied by mistrust and power struggles among old powers and emerging and re-emerging countries. The world seems to be falling back into a state of discord and irresponsibility dominated by short-term geopolitical self-interest. This is becoming apparent, for example, from the fact that the number of armed conflicts is currently on the rise again, after quite a long period of decline since the early 1990s.

When turning the spotlight on the regional level, the picture does not get any brighter. In the European Union, whose underlying purpose is “to deepen the solidarity between [its] peoples” (Maastricht Treaty) and “promote [...] solidarity among its Member States” (Treaty of Lisbon), this idea has suffered substantially, especially during the financial crisis and the dispute over the admission and distribution of refugees.

So is international solidarity yesterday’s vision – one which does not provide any sense of direction for the shaping of tomorrow’s world? Or are we witnessing another turning point in history in response to the current crises, leading to a revival or even a breakthrough of international solidarity as a guiding principle in international relations? When reading the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development from September 2015, the Paris Agreement on Climate Change from December 2015 or the Agenda for Humanity to be endorsed at the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016, one could be led to believe that we are on the stepping stone towards change. The 2030 Agenda not only talks of “a spirit of strengthened global solidarity”; but also holds all countries accountable for meeting the common goals, thereby supporting the endeavour “to reach the furthest behind first”.

Critics may argue that this is just symbolic politics. Is this the case? How are the recent affirmations of the need for solidarity perceived in different parts of the world? Does it make sense to speak of an emerging norm of, or even a right to, solidarity? If so, would this open up new pathways towards justice and equity in international relations? And what does “international solidarity” really mean, after all?

: Thursday, 1 September 2016

- 12.30 hrs Registration and light refreshments
- 13.00 hrs Welcome
Professor Lothar Brock
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (HSFK)
Chair of the Advisory Board of the Development and Peace Foundation (sef:), Bonn
Alumni Senior Expert Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research

SESSION I

THE HISTORY AND CONCEPTS OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

- Chair
Dr Katja Freistein
Head of Research Unit 1 “The (Im)Possibility of Cooperation”
Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, Duisburg
- 13.15 hrs Opening speeches
- International solidarity as an emerging norm in the United Nations
Professor Henning Melber
Senior Advisor and Director Emeritus, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala
Member of the Advisory Board of the Development and Peace Foundation (sef:), Bonn
- Transnational solidarity: characteristics and potentials
Dr Ayça Çubukçu
Assistant Professor in Human Rights
The London School of Economics and Political Science
- 14.15 hrs Questions and answers
- 14.45 hrs Coffee break

SESSION II

THE 2030 AGENDA AND THE PARIS AGREEMENT – INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY RELOADED?

“Perhaps the most important transformative shift is towards a new spirit of solidarity, cooperation, and mutual accountability that must underpin the post-2015 agenda”.

High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda

Key questions:

- What kind of understanding of international solidarity is inherent in the 2030 Agenda and the Paris Agreement?
- Can it help to mobilise and strengthen political and social forces for global solidarity (including transnational movements)?
- What is its significance/potential in the struggle for procedural and social justice at the international level?
- What should be the next steps to fulfil the promise of solidarity in world society?
- How can this promise be translated into national and local strategies for sustainable development?

Chair

Dr Steffen Bauer

Researcher

The German Development Institute/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), Bonn

15.15 hrs

Inputs

Professor Markus Kotzur

Professor for European and International Law

University of Hamburg

Dr Heike Kuhn

Head of Division “2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Bonn

Professor Jan Aart Scholte

School of Global Studies, Gothenburg

Alumni Senior Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, Duisburg

Dr Youba Sokona

Special Advisor on Sustainable Development at the South Centre, Geneva

16.00hrs

Plenary debate

16.45 hrs

Coffee break

SESSION III

“REFUGEES (NOT) WELCOME” – THE LIMITS TO THE SOLIDARITY OF STATES AND SOCIETIES

“[...] this is not a crisis of numbers; it is a crisis of solidarity. Almost 90 per cent of the world’s refugees are hosted in developing countries. Eight countries host more than half of the world’s refugees. Just 10 countries provide 75 per cent of the UN’s budget to ease and resolve their plight. With equitable responsibility sharing, there would be no crisis for host countries”.

Ban Ki-moon, 8 May 2016

Key questions:

- The response to the current refugee movements provides a test case for international solidarity at the level of states, regional organisations and societies. How can the international differences in the display of solidarity be explained?
- How has solidarity by states and societies been transformed over the last decades?
- Are there (objective) limits to solidarity? What can be learned from the European example?
- How can solidarity with those who need it most be strengthened? What role do the media play?
- Should we count rather on refugees’ rights than on solidarity and duties of hosting communities?

Chair

Dr Cornelia Ulbert

Executive Director

Institute for Development and Peace (INEP), University of Duisburg-Essen

17.00 hrs

Input

Sabine Eckart (tbc)

Project Coordinator “Migration, Western Africa, Zimbabwe”
medico international, Frankfurt/Main

Professor Pierluigi Musarò

Associate Professor of Sociology

University of Bologna

Professor Galya Ruffer

Center for Forced Migration Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston

Senior Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, Duisburg

17.45–19.00 hrs

Plenary debate

19.30 hrs

Informal dinner

: Friday, 2 September 2016

9.00 hrs

Welcome coffee

SESSION IV

SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION – ARE THE PROMISES OF THE 1970s FINALLY COMING TRUE?

“[...] we reaffirm our view of South-South cooperation as a manifestation of solidarity among peoples and countries of the South that contributes to their national well-being, their national and collective self-reliance and the attainment of internationally agreed development goals [...] South-South cooperation should not be seen as official development assistance. It is partnership among equals based on solidarity.”

UNGA Resolution, 23 February 2010, A/RES/64/222

Key questions:

- How has South-South cooperation progressed since the 1960s?
- To what extent does South-South cooperation demonstrate a spirit of solidarity among the political and social actors in the Global South, and to what extent is it driven by (more or less enlightened) self-interest? How can self-interest and feelings of solidarity be reconciled?
- What are the core challenges and pitfalls of South-South cooperation with regard to international solidarity?

Chair

Adolf Kloke-Lesch

Executive Director SDSN Germany,

Member of the Advisory Board of the Development and Peace Foundation (sef:), Bonn

9.15 hrs

Inputs

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United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, New York

Professor Guilherme Casarões

Professor of International Relations, Faculdades Integradas Rio Branco

Lecturer at the Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Sao Paulo

Dr Jakkie Cilliers

Chairperson, African Futures & Innovation

Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Pretoria

Dr Daniel Large

Assistant Professor

School of Public Policy, Central European University, Budapest

10.00 hrs

Plenary debate

10.45 hrs

Coffee break with light refreshments

SESSION V

SOLIDARITY AS PREREQUISITE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: THE WAY FORWARD

“Solidarity is a persuasion that combines differences and opposites [...]. International solidarity [...] does not seek to homogenize but rather, to be the bridge across those differences and opposites, connecting to each other diverse peoples and countries with their heterogeneous interests, in mutually respectful, beneficial and reciprocal relations, imbued with the principles of human rights, equity and justice.”

Virginia B. Dandan, Independent expert on human rights and international solidarity

Key questions:

- Can we infer from the pertinent documents that international solidarity is an emerging norm in international relations?
- Is solidarity a necessary prerequisite for successful international cooperation? What is its potential, particularly in light of the relationship between interests and norms in international relations - and with regard to diverse cultural and ethical backgrounds?
- Would it be useful to conceptualise solidarity as a legal obligation instead of a mere political principle or a moral duty? How could this be done? Would it have an impact on the practice of international politics? Are there alternative ways to make solidarity a guiding principle in global cooperation, e.g. through education?

Chair

Professor Lothar Brock

11.15 hrs

Roundtable

Professor Hauke Brunkhorst

Department of Sociology

University of Flensburg

Professor Virginia B. Dandan

Independent expert on human rights and international solidarity

UN Human Rights Council, Geneva

Professor Siddharth Mallavarapu

Department of International Relations, South Asian University, New Delhi

Alumni Senior Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, Duisburg

Professor Binxin Zhang

Assistant Professor of Law

Xiamen University Law School

12.15 hrs

Plenary debate

13.00 hrs

Wrap-up and prospects for global cooperation

Professor Lothar Brock

Chair of the Advisory Board of the Development and Peace Foundation (sef:), Bonn

Alumni Senior Expert Fellow, Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research

13.15 hrs

Farewell by the organisers